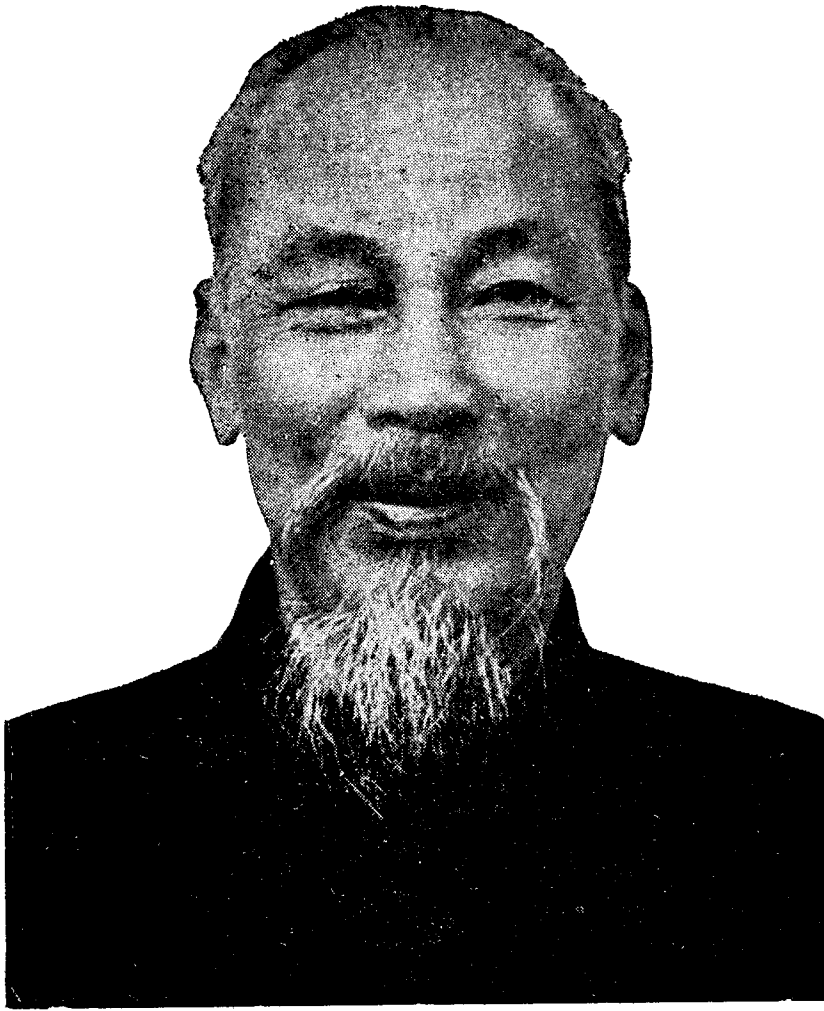




Red Salute to Vietnam

AMBASSADOR
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM
35 PRITHVI RAJ ROAD
NEW DELHI 11.

PLEASE CONVEY TO PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM THE FOLLOWING (.) I ON BEHALF OF THE SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA AND TOILING PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRY EXPRESS DEEPEST SATISFACTION FRATERNAL SOLIDARITY AND REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS FOR GLORIOUS SIGNIFICANT VICTORY OF HEROIC PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM OVER U.S. IMPERIALISTS AND THEIR PUPPETS (.)

SHIBDAS GHOSH
GENERAL SECRETARY
SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA

[The above telegram was sent on April, 30 to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam through the ambassador of Democratic Republic of Vietnam, at New Delhi.]

Vietnam—the other name of a great nation that through unprecedented sacrifice of lives and its unflinching devotion to a protracted, intense, revolutionary struggle, wins victory in this era.

Vietnam of Comrade Ho Chi Minh—the name that instils indomitable courage of conviction in every fighter for freedom.

Vietnam brings invaluable lessons which we can never fail to grasp in the revolutionary struggle for liberation of Six hundred millions in our Indian Soil—under the leadership of the true Marxist-Leninist Party,—SUCI on the correct base political line of anti-Capitalist Socialist Revolution with the invincible weapon of thoughts of our great leader and teacher Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

Red Salute to Vietnam of undenyng glory !

Red Salute to Comrade Ho-Chi-Minh !

All Bengal Youth Conference

Organised by DYU

20th-22nd June • Saheed Netai Nagar
Suri • West Bengal

Main Speaker : Com. Shibdas Ghosh

Chief Guest : Sri Jayaprakash Narayan

President : Com. Pratiba Mukherjee

Open Session

Delegate Session

20th June, 5 pm

21st and 22nd June

Free Mass Movements From The Influence Of Economism And Reformism

Com. Shibdas Ghosh's Appeal At The Mammoth Gathering On The SUCI Day

The 27th anniversary of the foundation day of the SUCI was solemnly observed on 24th of April last. On this day a mammoth meeting was held at the Calcutta Saheed Minar Maidan which looked like a vast sea of humanity. Massive processions of peasants, workers, students and youths from far off villages and cities came to the Saheed Minar Maidan and it was overflowed with lakhs and lakhs of people. Some estimated the gathering to be three lakhs, some said it to be five lakhs and even the most conservative estimate was not less than two lakhs. In fact it was a mammoth and unprecedented gathering in recent times. In the present critical phase of the left democratic movement in our country such a mammoth gathering is significant.

The meeting started Bengal State Committee of the SUCI, in the chair. Nihar Mukherji, the Secretary of the West (Contd. to Page 2)

Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA (FORTNIGHTLY)

Editor-in-Chief—Shibdas Ghosh

VOL 8
No. 17

7th JUNE '75
SATURDAY

PRICE 40 P.
Air Surcharge 4 P.

Complete defeat of all Trends and Varieties of Modern Revisionism—an indispensable Condition for Victory

(Contd. from Page 1)

Organisation presented the Internationale and Com. Shibdas Ghosh, the leader and teacher and the General Secretary of the party was presented a Guard of Honour by KOMSOMAL. Com. Nihar Mukherjee moved the condolence resolution on the demise of Com. Subodh Banerjee, a distinguished Central Committee and Polit Bureau member of the SUCI and other martyrs who fell victim in the democratic movements and a minute's silence was observed in memory of the departed. Another resolution on Indo-China moved by Com. Pritish Chanda and seconded by Com. Ashutosh Banerjee was also adopted.

Com. Nihar Mukherjee in his short speech thanked the people for their co-operation and help in making the anniversary a grand success.

[We have translated Comrade Ghosh's speech, delivered in Bengali. Though we have not translated the whole speech we have tried to retain all the salient points in our translation. For any mistake, or inadequacy of expression or any other fault, the responsibility is ours—Ed. Board].

Com. Shibdas Ghose in his speech drew some lessons in a nutshell, from the victorious struggles of Cambodia and South Vietnam and dealt on some pertinent questions relating to the economic, social and political situation in India and on problems facing the mass movements in our country. He could not complete his speech due to sudden outbreak of thunder storm.

Lessons Of The Victories Of Indo-China

He said, in Cambodia finally a revolutionary people's Government has been established after the achievement of complete victory over the US imperialism and its puppet Lon Nol regime through tortuous and protracted armed struggle. It has

also become clear to all the people of the world that Saigon will also be liberated within a few days. The victories of the revolutionary struggles of the valiant people of Vietnam and Cambodia have proved two things. Firstly it has shattered and completely exposed the myth of the American military might. It has proved beyond doubt that even the American military might cannot ultimately suppress the mass upheaval when it is led by a real revolutionary party.

He said, the American military might is not the last word. It is the people, the correct base political line and a genuine and effective revolutionary party of the proletariat which have the final say—which alone ultimately determine the course of history.

Secondly, it has proved once again before the world that the surest guarantee for the maintenance of the world peace lies only in the victories of national liberation struggles in colonies and semi-colonies and revolutionary movements in the capitalist countries. It is only through these victories—one after another, imperialism can be weakened and pushed back to the wall and the policy of peaceful co-existence can be thrust upon them effectively and in this way the imperialist policy of local and partial war, subversion and interference in the internal affairs of other countries can be foiled and stopped and the possibility of world war can finally be averted.

In this connection he reminded the people that those who think that the imperialists can be debarred from continuing the policy of war, subversion and interference by appeasement and capitulation or by international conferences or through diplomatic manoeuvring, are not only wrong but also deliberately creating

illusion and wrong conception regarding the character and role of modern imperialism. As against this revisionist line and approach the revolutionary line and approach pursued by China and Democratic Republic of Vietnam in this regard have been proved to be absolutely correct. The victorious liberation struggles of Cambodia and Vietnam have proved how erroneous and dangerous are the policies pursued by the Soviet revisionist leadership. In this connection he further said, since Khrushchev and his clique usurped the leadership of the CPSU, the CPSU and the Soviet Union gradually started shifting from the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line of approach to an out and out revisionist line. It was at this stage the CPSU—the party of Lenin and Stalin—started suffering from nuclear warphobia and easily fell prey to the US nuclear black mailing. Not only that they themselves became instrumental in spreading nuclear warphobia to the advantage of the US imperialist's policy of war, subversion and interference into the internal affairs of other countries, to go on unabated. The policy of peaceful co-existence lost all its revolutionary significance in the hand of the revisionist leadership and was reduced to virtually a policy of appeasement and capitulation. And this line of approach ultimately dragged them into the orbit of power politics. This revisionist line and super power politics of the Soviet leadership ultimately led to the rapture of the international communist movement and unity of the socialist camp to the jubilation of the imperialists. Now they are only extending lip services to the anti-imperialist liberation struggles in colonies and semi-colonies and revolutionary struggles in the capitalist countries. Even when they were forced to

extend support and help to the national liberation struggles, one could easily see that they did it in a most hackneyed and half hearted way, which were far short of the actual requirement of the liberation struggles. Precisely because of this revisionist approach and attitude of the Soviet leadership the anti-imperialist liberation struggle in Indo-China had been such a prolonged and bloody one. It is evidently clear from all the recent behaviours and practices of the Soviet revisionist leadership that modern revisionism is the most dangerous social support of imperialism-capitalism—it is the compromising force between imperialism and liberation struggles—between capitalism and anti-capitalist revolutionary struggles. So it must not be forgotten for a moment that complete defeat of all trends and varieties of modern revisionism is an indispensable condition to lead the revolutionary struggles to victory.

In spite of much confusion created and damage done by the Soviet revisionist leadership the glorious victory of the valiant people of Cambodia and Vietnam will no doubt have a great impact on the revolutionary struggles of the masses and opened the flood gate of new tides of revolutionary upsurge throughout the world.

Problems Concerning Mass Movements In India

Com. Ghosh then switched over to the Indian situation and to the problems confronting the present day mass movement in our country. He said that in spite of a general feeling of frustration prevailing in our society one cannot also ignore the facts that a new wave of mass movement is about to sweep over the country. A wave of mass movement has already passed over Gujrat, and Bihar also witnessed similar out-break of mass

upsurge known as Bihar agitation. In Bihar, though there is a temporary lull in the agitational form of movement one can easily feel the explosive conditions still prevailing there for the out break of a new mass upsurge any time in future. The situation in West Bengal and Orissa, too, is ripe enough for immediately launching powerful mass movements. Under such a situation, today or to-morrow, under what-so ever might be the leadership, tides of mass movements will definitely sweep over the country. You saw in Bihar that the movement did not ultimately wait, because we, the leftists failed to provide leadership there. Lakhs of people did not hesitate to participate in the movement. As the demands were legitimate and democratic, as the patience of the people surpassed its limit the people jumped into the movement in thousands, no matter, what was the character of the leadership. People who participated in the agitation did not even care to think about the character of the leadership. But how can any one ignore a mass movement in which lakhs of people participated? Can we brand the people who participated in the movement and bore all the burdens of the struggle by themselves as reactionary because the leadership of the movement is still in the hands of the rightists? What all these things prove? It proves, whether the leftists and the revolutionaries are ready or not, if the objective situation is ripe for a movement, waves of mass struggles will appear time and again but will subsequently subside. But the question that I like to put forward here is that, there had been many mass struggles and mass movements in our country in the past and thousands of people and sometimes lakhs of them participated in those struggles under different leaders and different kinds of leader-

(Contd. to Page 3)

United mass struggle—not the aim and an end in itself, rather a means to achieve the objective

(Contd. from page 2)

ship—sometimes parties leading the struggle separately and sometimes jointly. But what were the net results? One cannot but ponder over it.

Com. Ghosh continued, in near future also, surely there will be an out break of mass movements and mass struggles notwithstanding their present state of frustration. It always happened in the past that the people while participating in the movement did not think and care about what should have been the correct line, correct approach and correct ideology in order to achieve their goal. Neither there had been any attempt on the part of the political parties to make them conscious of it and build up revolutionary organisations—the political power of the people. Precisely because of this all the mass movements and struggles in the past, in spite of heavy losses and sacrifices incurred by the people were of no avail from the point of view of the advancement of the revolutionary struggles of the masses for their emancipation. Rather all these struggles were subsequently followed by a period of overall frustration of the masses and disarray in the leftist and revolutionary ranks. It is the ruling bourgeoisie who, taking advantage of these situations every time consolidated their unabated rule of exploitation and oppression and strengthened capitalism.

He emphatically pointed out that to-day also if the people who are interested in developing mighty people's movement and who will be participating in the on coming movements and will bear all the burden and burns of the struggles do not seriously ponder over what should be the correct political line, correct ideology and correct leadership the fate of the future struggles will also be the same as it had been in the past. Therefore, he pointed out, before launching a struggle

and even during the struggle the serious people can not adopt a casual and and callous attitude towards such important and vital questions relating to ideology, base political line and the question of establishing leadership of a genuine revolutionary party.

He warned the people that those who undermine or attempt to undermine these basic questions relating to united mass struggle or preach that the correct line and correct revolutionary leadership will evolve automatically from within the mass struggles are nothing but humbugs and the worst type of career seekers in political movement. Their sole concern is to any how maintain and increase their popularity and their aim, no matter whether they are conscious of it or not, is to usurp the credit of the movement and capitalise the sacrifices of the people in furtherance of their career in the parliamentary politics. To day in our country there are plenty of such leaders and political parties who are still camouflaging themselves as the real friends of the people. Sooner the people bring them to book the better for the future of the struggles.

So what is the lesson one should take from all these? The lesson is that the struggle, be it a united mass struggle, is not the aim and an end in itself, rather a means to achieve political aims and objectives of the masses. So, if the struggles of the masses launched on various economic and other democratic demands are not properly co-related with revolutionary aims and objectives then the struggles are sure to be confined within the limits and bounds of economism and reformism and ultimately end in fiasco. As for example, since for long the workers have been fighting in capitalist society for raising their wages. Even when after incurring heavy losses and

sacrifices if the workers sometimes are able to increase their wages it never solves their problem because there has been always a simultaneous rise in the prices. In such a condition again they will have to fight for wage increase and in this way the process goes on repeating itself finding no way to come out from this vicious circle. Does this way of struggle solve the basic problems of life? Can it put an end to exploitation? The economic and democratic demands for which the people have been fighting are for bringing merely certain reforms within the existing socio economic political structure. Here Com. Ghosh reminded the people, it should not be forgotten for a moment that no amount of wage increase and fulfilment of democratic demands can emancipate our working class and toiling masses from the bondage and exploitation of the capitalist society, unless these struggles are closely linked up with the revolutionary politics of overthrowing capitalist state machine.

Now the pertinent question is what is the correct revolutionary politics and the political aim of all these mass struggles? Many will at once say—'revolution'—'the end of exploitation' without explaining what do all these mean concretely and how to achieve that. Therefore, these expressions are all absolutely vague in nature. Moreover, there is always a tendency to confuse any militant form of struggle with a revolutionary one. One should not forget that if a movement on some economic and democratic demands is conducted even in a most militant way and if we simply use certain terms and phrases like revolution, Marxism-Leninism etc. etc. in it—that does not *ipso facto* make a movement revolutionary. Then what is the difference between revolutionary movement and a reformist movement led by the social

democrats and the pseudo-revolutionaries? Does not at times, even reformist movements led by social democrats become militant? Who does not know that the movement for distribution of land among landless and poor peasants and movement for enactment of legislation in favour of it are essentially reformist movement within the span of parliamentary politics? This is an elementary knowledge that these are not revolutionary movements for seizure of power though sometimes fought in a most militant way. In Italy, at one time, peasants fought with arms for distribution of land and land reforms. As because they used arms in the struggle for land distribution that itself could not transform the movement into a revolutionary struggle for seizure of power. It essentially remained a reformist movement in spite of the fact that they fought with arms. Therefore to transform a democratic movement into a revolutionary one is not so simple, so easy a matter. Since independence the mass struggles and mass movements in our country in spite of taking sometimes militant forms always remained confined within the orbit of economism and reformism. These movements so long could not develop revolutionary consciousness in the truest sense of the term and for that completely failed to build up revolutionary organisations of the toiling masses and to give birth to political power of the people. The bitter experiences of these struggles are, on the contrary, that in spite of many sacrifices and losses suffered by the masses in the struggle it is the capitalism, the reactionary forces only which have been strengthened, their administrative and economic system have been consolidated, there has not been any basic change in the life of the people and in the existing socio-economic political system. I am not saying all these simply

because there had been defeats and failures in our struggles in the past. I know that everywhere revolutionary struggles initially suffer setbacks. But the history of the revolutionary movement teaches us that through the defeats and failures of the revolutionary struggles at the initial stages, revolutionary mass movements gradually gather strength and get momentum to the weakening of the position of the ruling exploiting class and thereby pushing the ruling class to a more and more chaotic condition. There may be ups and downs in revolutionary movement but nevertheless if the revolutionary movement is conducted on the basis of correct base political line and it is led by a genuine revolutionary party then in spite of many defeats and failures at the initial stages it will constantly grow in strength in the midst of turns and twists and in this way ultimately will attain victory. But were the defeats and failures of mass movements in our country of similar nature? Had the left and the revolutionary movement been able to grow in strength through these failures to the weakening of the position of the bourgeoisie? Just the reverse has happened here. After every such defeat and failure in the past the left forces have been disintegrated and cowardice has crept in and overall frustration has succumbed our people and for sometime there has prevailed an apathy to struggle in mass mind. All out corruption has pervaded the whole nation and there has been a steady decline in the cultural and moral standard in the society. And on the other side it was only the ruling bourgeoisie who have been able to consolidate their rule of exploitation. But what is the reason for such happenings? This question has got to be faced with courage. It is a very vital question to day confronting our left and

(Contd. to Page 4)

Modernisation and Mechanisation of Agriculture, Unemployment and Uninterrupted Industrial growth are the problems Confronting our Life

(Contd. from Page 3)

democratic movements. No serious political worker can undermine the importance of this question. If he does, then he can not claim himself to be a politically conscious worker. It is the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois politicians and the social democrats who refuse to initiate serious discussion on this problem within the masses and the mass movements. But a genuine revolutionary party can not adopt such an attitude because the revolutionaries always strive to educate the masses politically through discussions, criticisms, counter-criticisms, and relentless-ideological political struggles.

Com. Ghosh said, in order to understand the questions we must understand, first of all two things. Firstly, if we want to bring about a fundamental change in our socio-economic and political system then we will have to determine what is the fundamental and basic character of the present socio-economic and political system and how shall we change it? And what do we want to establish in its place? What is the main hurdle in the way in changing the present social system? If it is the state machine then what is the character of the state? Which class or classes are to be overthrown by which class or classes?

And secondly, on the basis of correct analysis of the above questions and getting a correct answer to those questions we will have to adopt the correct strategic line and tactics of revolution in order to lead the united mass struggles to their revolutionary political goal. If we fail to understand and even if we under-rate the importance of this two fundamental things then all the future struggles also will end in fiasco. We shall be going on fighting on various economic and democratic demands endlessly and obviously there will be many sacrifices and heavy losses

but never these struggles will be able to reach their revolutionary political goal by coming out from the vicious circle of economism and reformism.

Such a state of affair can only give dividend to the oppositional bourgeois, petty bourgeois or the social democratic parties who will usurp all the credits of the movements and capitalise all the sacrifices suffered by the people in furtherance of their parliamentary election politics as it always happened in the past.

Now let us examine what are the main problems confronting our life and society,—I do not like to give a list of all the miseries and sufferings of the people here. You yourselves know it very well from your own experiences in daily life. I want to draw your attention to the basic question only, Com. Ghosh said.

Problems Confronting Modernisation and Mechanisation of Agriculture

He said that there are two basic problems facing our life and economy. These are modernisation and mechanisation of our agriculture and paving the way for uninterrupted industrial development of our economy and thereby solving unemployment problem thoroughly. He pointed out that the industrial development of our country is staggering and halting again and again. Our industrial economy is facing recession one after another, and though underdeveloped, it has already become a crisis-ridden economy. Indian agricultural economy in the main is being confined in small peasant economy. Here modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture could not be done. But who can deny that, for transforming our country from a backward to an advanced one and for the solution of the food problems, for the regular and sufficient supply of raw materials for industrial

development, modernisation and mechanisation of our agriculture is an indispensable necessity. The continuous upliftment of the standard of life of the vast majority of our rural population, freeing them from the existing half-fed, half-clad barbaric and uncivilised sub human condition of life largely depends on achieving these tasks. But what astonishes me most is, Com. Ghosh said, that not only among the parties of the bourgeoisie but even among the left and all the pseudo Marxist-Leninist parties, there still prevails a very naive idea in our country precisely on this question. All these parties are talking of how to develop our country. Again, if the agrarian programmes of all these parties, starting from the Congress to the SP, CPI, CPI(M)—both the rightist and the leftist parties—barring only the SUCI, is carefully and critically examined, it will be very much clear to any one that except differences in terminology and style of expressions all these programmes are aiming at keeping our agricultural economy arrested or confined, in the main, in small peasant economy. The main and sole programme of agrarian reform, be it agrarian revolution in some one's terminology, is the distribution of land to the agricultural labourers and the landless and poor peasants. And some one, has gone a step further in raising demand for fair wages for agricultural labourers. But all of them, in tune with the ruling bourgeois class are against modernisation and mechanisation of our agriculture—some of them openly preaching and advocating Japanese way of cultivation, either without knowing its implication in the present day backward capitalist economic system or deliberately committing this sin in the interest of protecting this reactionary and moribund capitalist

system as long as possible.

The very same thing is found in the programme of the BLD also—although used in a different term—“Laghu Uddyog”. These people in utter disregard to the law of development of production are advocating in favour of giving more stress on small enterprises. In their programme, they declared that they would develop numbers of small and light industries in the villages and thereby strengthen agricultural economy through small farming.

The Congress has also discarded the idea of introduction of tractors and machines on a large scale and in the name of helping the small and middle peasants, is actually hatching the conspiracy of keeping and maintaining our small peasant economy as long as possible with the sole purpose of arresting the maximum number of rural population in a half-fed and half-clad condition in the land economy.

The main tasks outlined in the programmes of both the CPI and the CPM for agrarian reform, or ‘agrarian revolution’ as they are very much fond of using the term, are the confiscation of land by enactment or seizure of land, as the case may be, of the big land owners and distribute the same to the poor and landless peasants and agricultural labourers and fixation of fair wages for the agricultural labourers. These are the prescriptions prescribed by both these parties for solution of the present agrarian problem. They are also, like the Congress, opposed to the introduction of machines and tractors in our agriculture. Indeed the CPI(M) in their programme have declared that they will oppose any move for introduction of machines and tractors in our agriculture. One wonders if they are really so simple not to understand that under the cover of a ‘real friend’ of the sharecroppers, poor peasants,

and agricultural labourers they are actually moving in tune with the ruling bourgeoisie in order to protect and prolong the crisis ridden capitalist economy of our country from the imminent threat of collapse posed by the unprecedented rate of growth of the unemployed in the rural life. So all these programmes, Com. Ghosh said, are nothing but palliatives suggested within the frame-work of the existing capitalist economic system.

The believers of Bhudan Movement, too, believed that if the big land owners could be persuaded in contributing sufficient amount of land for distribution among the poor and landless peasants the agrarian problem could be solved smoothly and there would be a considerable upliftment of standard of life of our rural population. But after much efforts, ultimately what they got was not land but only papers. Because whatever amount of land they got for distribution, by no means, could be tilled by the poor peasants unless the state came forward to make this land cultivable with the help of the most modern technology. So it is clear that, all of them are seeking solutions within the frame work of capitalist state machine and capitalist society. None of them has the courage to admit it openly in the public. All of them are camouflaging this intention under various pretexts and covers.

Be that as it may, though distribution of land to the poor and landless peasants and agricultural labourers remains as an important task of the peasant movement yet to be fulfilled, Com. Ghosh raised a most pertinent question—can the agrarian problem of our country be solved only by distributing land amongst them? The total land, he said, that may be available for distribution after acquiring all the benami lands and

(Contd. to Page 5)

Agrarian Programmes of the CPI & CPM essentially not different from those of Congress, BLD or Bhoodanists

(Contd. from Page 4)

further by lowering the ceiling, along with the total cultivable waste, can not even cover fifty percent of the rural population, if we are to distribute land on the basis of "economic holding". Moreover, will the poor peasants be able to hold and retain for long the lands that will be distributed to them under condition of capitalism? In the same way it will go again out of their hand as it happened in the past in case of their fore-fathers. Because, the same process for which land is constantly being concentrated in the hands of a few—is still in operation within the society.

Secondly, the population is constantly increasing while the total acreage of land in a country can not increase—it remains constant and there is also a limit to increase the productivity of land. From all these, taken together, it is evidently clear that the problem of giving employment elsewhere, to the continuously increasing rural surplus is day by day appearing as the main problem in our agricultural economy. Such are the problems which can not escape the attention of any serious person while dealing with our agrarian problems. Therefore those who solely for their petty political end in view are advocating distribution of land as the main solution, I doubt whether they have any serious concern regarding the problems of the country as a whole.

Besides, who does not know whether a country is backward or advanced is mainly determined by the ratio of the people engaged in agriculture and in industry. But the programmes of all the parties for agrarian reforms, be it the programme of People's Democratic Revolution or the programmes for land reforms of the ruling Congress or the 'Laghu Uddyog' formula of the BLD—are aiming at

keeping the majority of the rural population arrested in small peasant economy and at the same time all of them are talking of development and advancement of our country! What a self-contradictory politics!

Com. Ghosh said, the main problem of the Indian agricultural economy is how to modernise and mechanise it. If this can be done then only there will be an upliftment in the standard of living of the people who will be engaged, in the rural economy. Villages will be electrified and some auxiliary industries will grow up there, where some more people also will get employment. The rest surplus population of the villages will have to be employed in different industrial areas. It is only then, our villages will have a modern look—the heaven and hell difference between the city and the country life will be, to a very great extent, removed and the country can be considered as an advanced one. But in order to accomplish this gigantic task what is most necessary is first of all to open the gate of uninterrupted industrial development. But what are the hurdles standing in the way? They are the capitalist mode of production and the capitalist relations of production. Being pressed by the circumstances, created by the third phase of general crisis of world capitalism, capitalism, more so a backward capitalism like

ours by no means, to-day have the capability of continuously expanding the internal market. In our country 70% to 80% of the people live in villages and among them 80% to 83% are proletariat and semi-proletariat. These huge number of people living in rural areas practically have no purchasing power. And among the rest of the 20% to 25% of the population who live in cities and towns, the number of unemployed is constantly increasing at an unprecedented rate. Even those, who are employed in industries and in different establishments, their real wage, if calculated in relation to spiralling price rise, is constantly falling. Under such a condition how can there be continuous expansion of internal market? And how can there be uninterrupted growth of industrial development? All these conclusively prove that, though our country is an underdeveloped one still the capitalist mode of production and the capitalist relations of production have already become obsolete and acting as a brake and creating enormous hurdles in the way of industrial development. And precisely because of this, modernisation and mechanisation could not be done here. Under the present condition of capitalism, if the modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture are done that will, by one stroke, force millions of rural population surplus and make them

unemployed. And no capitalist state can withstand the pressure of such a huge army of unemployed. This is why, the ruling bourgeois class, in rescue of crisis-ridden capitalist economy, is refusing to modernise and mechanise our agriculture and are taking shelter in small peasant economy under the cover of 'Green revolution' to the detriment of the overall development of our country.

Capitalist State Machine is to be Smashed

Therefore, Com. Ghosh said, in order to accomplish modernisation and mechanisation of our agriculture—the most important tasks ahead, we will have to free our production from the capitalist relations and motive force of production—from the tentacles and grips of capitalist exploitation and expropriation. But how can this be done? Is it that capitalist system is continuing in force simply on the strength of its economic laws? Surely not. It could not last even for a day against the anger of the people if it was not protected by a modern state machine. But what do we mean by the state machine? The state and government are not the one and the same thing. There are three principal organs of a modern state machine, viz, the army, the bureaucratic administrative system along with police and the judiciary. These are the three permanent organs of a modern state. These organs do

not change along with the change of the government no matter whether the government is changed either by election or through adjustment between different parties or groups in the parliament or by a military coup. At best some personnels may be replaced from time to time. The state is to be considered almost like a machine—the government's position here is just like an operator or a care-taker of that machine.

Every state machine is closely linked up with a particular phase of history in the development of production. It is a class instrument of coercion. The modern state machine has its own characteristic features and its tuning and make up is such that all its three organs always function as a composite whole and a centralised one; and each of them is designed to serve the political purpose of a definite class. The operator of a machine cannot perform any other work by that machine other than the work for which the machine was solely designed. As for example, a weaving machine can produce only cotton goods and different kinds of cloths. If he is a highly skilled and efficient weaver then he will produce bigger amount and better quality at a shorter time. If the weaver is inefficient and less skilled, he will cause many complications, he will take more time, will produce lesser quantity and that too, of bad quality. Similarly the government, the operator, with all the efficiency and skill at its command, with a capitalist state machine can not do, in the main, any thing else other than coercing the people in the interest of capitalist exploitation. It makes fundamentally no difference whether the coercion and exploitation are made in a cruel, in a crude, in a blunt way or they are done in a subtle and cunning way with a sweet coating, or by applying some balm to make the pains of coercion



Leaders standing on the decorated dais at the time of the Internationale by DYO Music Squad. At the middle is Com. Shibdas Ghosh, the leader, teacher & General Secretary of our Party and on his right Comrades Sachin Banerjee, Pritish Chanda, Shankar Singh, Hiren Sarkar and on the left,—invited guest Sri J. Dhote MP, Com. Sudhindra Pramanik, Genl. Secy. All India UTUC (Lenin Sarani), Com. Nihar Mukherjee, member of the C.C. and other leaders of the party.

(Contd. to Page 6)

INDIAN CAPITALIST STATE IS STRIVING FOR THE

(Contd. from Page 5)

and exploitation endurable. A government coerces and exploits with a most rough and dictatorial attitude while the other coaxes the people while coercing and exploiting, with apples, grapes and butter. But none the less, all of them do exploit and coerce for preserving the interest of the existing capitalist system. Therefore, if the production and life of our country are to be freed from the yoke of capitalist exploitation and oppression, there is no other way but to overthrow the capitalist state machine through revolution.

Capitalism Is The Main Obstacle

There are some people who want to outright reject the very existence of capitalist economy in our country—because of its backwardness, because its character is not of fully indigenous nature, because of its dependence on foreign technical know-how and because there is still considerable amount of influence of foreign finance capital on it. These people completely

fail to understand that in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution and more so in the third phase of general crisis of world capitalism, how capitalism is growing and developing in all the backward countries, where growth of capitalism was delayed. Therefore, these people utterly failed to grasp that the above-mentioned factors only indicate helplessness and dependence of a backward capitalist economy and its complexities. So, these are not the main determinants whether an economy is capitalistic or not. In order to grasp whether an economy is a capitalist one or not, one is to determine, first of all, what is the motive force of production and its given definite production relation. The motive force of capitalist production is to earn maximum profit and one should not forgo that this is the basic law of capitalism. And secondly, capitalist relations of production means—owner-wage earner relation. This is why Marx while explaining what is 'Capital', mainly emphasised on two

points—one is motive force of production and the other is production relation. And from this point of view one can easily find that our economy definitely is of capitalist nature, whatever may be its dependence in the economic field. Whether it has grown in an indigenous way or with the help of foreign scientific and technical know-how—it matters little. A amount of economic dependence in this era has no relevance to the question whether it is capitalism or not. The only relevance of this is how to handle the anti-imperialist patriotic feeling of the people in favour of our struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and establishment of socialism.

Due to the backwardness of our agricultural economy some of the customs, force of habits and forms of the old feudal system are mixed up in our capitalist agricultural economy, just like alloy in gold. For a correct understanding and appraisal of this phenomenon we are to understand under what circum-

stances, under what general condition of world capitalism and under what condition of the internal market, capitalism has penetrated in our agricultural economy. If this is properly understood then only it will be clear why, unlike 18th and 19th century, capitalism in our country could not introduce, on a massive scale, machines, tractors and modern techniques, in agriculture. So, whether the agricultural economy of our country is feudal or capitalist, is not determined by whether there is big land-holding or small land-holding or by whether the agricultural economy is thoroughly mechanised or not. Then how can we determine the character of our agricultural economy? It can easily be ascertained by determining the character of the agricultural commodities and the character of trade and commerce system of the agricultural commodities. That is, by determining whether the agricultural produces have become the commodities of the national capitalist market,

or remained commodities of the localised agricultural market.

Secondly, it is important to categorically determine the class character of our state because without determining the class character of a state, one cannot adopt a correct strategy and tactics of revolution. Some people here are refusing to accept Indian state as a national state—a bourgeois state—a capitalist state machine as because there is considerable amount of influence of foreign finance capital still continuing in our capitalist economy. These people say that, under the situation it cannot be a national state, that is, a bourgeois state. Lenin thoroughly discussed on this issue and categorically stated that the national state is the form of state that maintains and creates conditions for the freest, widest and speediest development of capitalism under the given international and national situation. In this connection he pointed out that not only the small Balkan states but the Tsarist Russia also was under



24th April—a historic and memorable rally of the recent times. The picture shows only a

DEVELOPMENT AND CONSOLIDATION OF CAPITALISM

effective influence of rich European countries and even America was economically a colony of Europe till the end of 19th Century. So, how the existence of the influence of foreign finance capital on a relatively backward capitalist economy, in this era, can any way negate the existence of national state, a bourgeois state, or capitalist state machine? Is not here in our country the Indian state attempting to maintain and create conditions, with all the power at its command, for the relatively freest, widest and speediest development of Indian capitalism under the present international and national situation? Is not the import policy of the India Government a clear testimony of this? In spite of all these attempts by the Indian capitalist state how speedily capitalism is developing here is an altogether different thing, because it depends on many other factors. But one thing is sure that it is always striving hard for the development and consolidation of capitalism.

To understand the character and other complexities of a backward capitalist economy in this era of imperialism and proletarian revolution one must keep in mind that unlike the early stages of development of capitalism in the era of capitalist revolution when capitalism everywhere developed in indigenous way, capitalism in this era of imperialism and proletarian revolution in the underdeveloped and backward countries cannot develop fully in an indigenous way. It is bound to collaborate with imperialism for its own development. And hence influence of foreign finance capital, associated with political strings and its dependence on technical know-how shall continue to exist till it is able to reach a certain degree of its maturity. The more it grows in this way the more it comes into conflict with imperialism and in this way when it is able to reach the stage of monopoly capitalism and itself gives birth to finance capital, starts exporting capital distinctly different than that of exporting

commodities, then it itself gradually assumes the character of imperialism. This is altogether a new process, under the present conditions, as against the classical way of development of capitalism to the stage of imperialism in the advanced European capitalist countries. Exactly this is what is happening in India. Indian capitalism grew and developed in collaboration with foreign finance capital. Though still much backward and weaker in comparison to the Western imperialist countries and though still a considerable

influence of foreign finance capital is there on it Indian capitalism has, no doubt, reached the stage of monopoly capitalism and has given birth to finance capital and through the merger of industrial and banking capital has given birth to financial oligarchy controlling the entire economic, social and political life of the people. And not only that, it has already started exporting capital and to the extent it is exporting capital and trying to extend its sphere of influence to that extent it has already assumed the character of imperialism.

In spite of all these stark realities some people are naively arguing that capitalism is not so much a problem here as ours is a poor and backward country. In their opinion as there is a dearth of capital here, all the problems are cropping from that. My point is, Com. Ghosh said, why then the little amount of capital formation that is taking place here could not be fully utilised for the industrialisation of the country and then why there is a constantly increasing

(Contd. to Page 8)



part of the total gathering : (Above) Comrade General Secretary is addressing the rally.

Struggle between two lines within United Movement is Inevitable and Indispensable

(Contd. from Page 7)

tendency of its becoming bureaucratic and idle. I use the term bureaucratic and idle because instead of being further invested for production it is mainly spent on unproductive expenditure, that is, for maintaining top-heavy bureaucratic administration and on luxuries. And this factor also is no less responsible for our present inflationary economy. If due to the dearth of capital the growth of industrialisation is stunted then can these people explain why the already installed capacities in many of our industries could not be fully utilised even during the peace time when there was no labour trouble? Why there is lay-off and a constant threat of retrenchment hanging over the workers? Why the installed productive capacities in most of the private and public sectors are lying idle and the workers there are laid off? If any one understands these problems scientifically then it will be clear that there is a constant decrease in the urge for investment of capital in the industries under the general environment of capitalism and the conditions of capitalist internal market.

So, unless and until the capitalist state machine and the exploiting reactionary capitalist system are replaced by a socialist state and a socialist economic system, the flood gate for uninterrupted industrialisation of our country cannot be opened and hence the tasks of modernisation and mechanisation of our agriculture can not be fulfilled and the problem of unemployment can not be solved. But how to achieve these ends?

Struggle between two lines inevitable and indispensable

To achieve these ends we are to give birth to an alternative power to the present capitalist state—

which means political power of the people, from the lowest to the highest level through different democratic mass struggles. But this political power of the people can never grow and develop if these democratic movements are not conducted on a correct revolutionary base political line by gradually freeing these struggles from the influence of economism and reformism.

Therefore to lead these day to day struggles of the masses against the main enemy to the revolutionary goal, struggle and conflict between the revolutionary political line and the social democratic lines of the other political parties in the united movement becomes inevitable and indispensable. For example our party says that Indian state is a capitalist state machine and hence our present revolution is anti-capitalist socialist. So it has got a particular strategy and tactics. But those who believe that our present stage of revolution is people's democratic, their immediate task is to overthrow imperialism and feudalism and not capitalism and a capitalist state machine. These parties are trying to shield the bourgeois class as a whole from the anger and wrath of the people by squarely putting total responsibility of exploitation, oppression and repression of the entire capitalist class on to the shoulder of a few individual monopolists or 'big business'. So they have got an altogether different strategy and tactics. Now when we, the different and even with divergent political lines and approaches enter into the united mass movements, then, if our strategy and tactics have got any real significance, shall not these differences be reflected in those united movements? If there is no reflection of these differences in the united movement, then it is clear that by our strategy and tactics of

revolution we do not mean anything seriously, these are only meant for lectures and writings and they have no real significance in leading the mass struggles to their revolutionary goal, or otherwise as they believe in people's democratic revolution they will always try to lead the mass movements to the people's democratic goal. Similarly as we believe in socialist revolution, we will also try to lead the mass struggles to the socialist revolutionary political goal. Naturally centring round these different and divergent strategies and tactics of revolution, conflict between two lines is inevitable. Precisely because of this, all the revolutionary thinkers, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao had to bring some important and basic things in the discussion on strategy and tactics of revolution.

Without entering into a detailed discussion I like to remind you of the three most important parts of the strategy of revolution, one is—what is the objective of revolution, that is which class or classes are the main enemy—which class or classes are to be overthrown from power and what type of state will replace the other one? The second one is—which class will lead the revolution. Along with this I add one more important part—what will be the strategic alliance and strategic slogan of revolution? And the third one is—the direction of the main blow. This is not my invention. Those who, unlike the social democrats of different countries did not only talk of revolution, but had actually organised and led revolution—all of them included this important part, 'direction of the main blow' in the strategy of revolution.

But the other day, an article by Mr. Jyoti Basu in the Ganasakti astonished me. There is a common notion current among the people that criticism within united

CENTRAL COMMITTEE STATEMENT ON SIKKIM

The Central Committee of the SUCI in a statement on 25th April regarding the recent step of the India Government in Sikkim, said that,

"The way the India Government has interfered into the internal affairs of Sikkim and has made Sikkim an integral part of the Indian Union deserves strong condemnation from the freedom loving and democratic minded people of India.

"The Central Committee is of firm opinion that the India Government, headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi has taken this most unwise stand at the instance of the Soviet revisionists and in the expansionist interest of the Indian ruling bourgeoisie, in utter disregard to the national interest and the interest of the Indian people.

"The Central Committee views with grave concern that, this act of the India Government will not only create suspicion, distrust and many other complications in the normal relationship between India and the neighbouring hilly Kingdoms but will also undermine, to a great extent, the prestige and honour of India and the Indian people before the eyes of the democratic and freedom loving people of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world.

"The Central Committee strongly feels that, this act of the India Government will create new hurdles in the way of normalising relations between India and China and thereby restoring the long awaited age-old friendship between the people of these two big neighbouring countries of Asia. Hence, no freedom loving and democratic minded people of our country other than the supporters and the agents of the Soviet revisionists, the servitors and the supporters of the capitalist exploitative system and those who have fallen victims to "big-nation chauvinism" can support this act of India Government.

"Therefore, the SUCI, on behalf of the freedom loving and democratic minded people of India cannot but express its strong indignation to this undemocratic and expansionist act of India Government. The Central Committee demands that, India Government should immediately stop interfering into the internal affairs of Sikkim and accept the basic right of the Sikkimese people to determine their own future".

movement is harmful. Any Marxist understands that such a notion itself is harmful for the growth of revolutionary consciousness of the masses and ultimately helps the anti-revolutionary forces. But Mr. Basu, a Polit Bureau member of the CPM has tried to utilise this wrong notion of the people to create hatred against our party. Now a days I often hear that many of the CPM cadres and supporters propagate as if our only politics is to criticise the CPM and they say that our journals are full of criticism against them only. Though not wholly, but it is partly true. But they failed to see why it is so, and what is there to be agrieved at this. If they understood the meaning of direction of the main blow they

themselves could see that it is but natural. Engels says, that he and Marx spent their whole life fighting against the pseudo-socialists. But there is nothing to be sorry for this, because this is an inevitable struggle and to ignore this struggle is to virtually conspire against revolution itself.

While discussing on the question of the strategy of revolution pursued by the Bolshevik party before and after the February Revolution in Russia Com. Stalin said:—"In the period of the struggle against tsarism, in the period of preparation for the bourgeois democratic revolution (1905-16) the most dangerous social support to tsarism was the liberal monarchist party.

(Contd. to Page 10)

ON THE ALL INDIA PROTEST DAY

Five Thousands Demonstrate at the Call of UTUC (Lenin Sarani)

Thanks to the disruptive role of CITU, no united programme in West Bengal could be taken on the 15th of May, despite sincere and repeated attempts of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) to observe the All India Protest Day against wage-cut, victimisation and emergency—a call given by the National Campaign Committee where leaders of all the left central trade unions took this common agreed programme at New Delhi on 9th of April.

When all their repeated attempts for joint programme on common agreed issues and particularly observance of this all India day failed due to opposition of CITU who took a separate programme at their office on 3rd May, at the back of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and others, no other option was left for UTUC (Lenin Sarani), JCA (Joint Council of Central and State Government Employees' Unions and Association), EDA (P & T) Council, West Bengal, State Government Irrigation and Water Works Employees' Associations to take their own initiative for observing the all India programme in a befitting manner, they all being the constituents of the Campaign Committee.

A fortnight-long intensive campaign programme with extensive wall-postering, gate meetings, street-corner meetings was observed in city and districts. Besides demonstrative programme in the districts a big meeting was held at 4 p.m. at Subodh Mallick Square.

Before the meeting big well-decorated processions of employees, railwaymen, teacher, and other sections of the toiling masses came from different parts of industrial areas of the city and suburbs as also from nearby districts. The procession evoked great enthusiasm amongst the working people.

The meeting at Subodh Mallick Square was presid-

ed over by Comrade Sanat Dutta, Secretary, Bengal Jute Mill Workers' Union and a leader of UTUC (Lenin Sarani).

Comrade Sitesh Das Gupta, Secretary, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) read out and explained the memorandum addressed to the Governor.

Demanding immediate scrapping of the wage-cut Act of the government, introduced on 6th July last year for curbing whatever little increase in earnings of salary and DA of the working people in a highly inflationary situation, the memorandum pointed out that the hoax of the government's so-called plea of containing inflation by this measure had completely been exposed by experiences.

The memorandum demanded immediate withdrawal of the emergency and the black acts like MISA, PVA, DIR etc. which have been brought in under its cover to stifle the legitimate democratic movements of the oppressed masses against the autocratic rule of the bourgeoisie.

Strongly condemning the continuation of the victimisation of thousands of heroic railwaymen for their participation in legitimate struggle, contrary to the so-called assurances of the government and verdicts of High Courts, the memorandum demanded immediate revocation of those vindictive measures and reinstatement of railwaymen, Government employees and all other workers and employees in public and private sectors.

Drawing pointed attention to the grave situation in the state due to combined attacks of the employer class and the government to shift the entire burden of crisis of the capitalist economy on to the shoulder of the working people by means of mass-scale lay-off, closure, and lock out, the memorandum demanded imme-

diately ban on lay-off, lock out and closure as also reopening of closed and locked-out factories and establishments and bringing to service all workers and employees, retrenched and laid off. The memorandum also demanded guaranteed work throughout the year and minimum living wages for the agricultural workers.

The main speaker in the meeting Comrade Fatik Ghosh, General Secretary of UTUC (Lenin Sarani), West Bengal State Committee while analysing the main reason for the crisis in the bourgeois economy, accentuated by the bourgeois class policies and measures of the Congress government, urged upon the working people to be mentally and organisationally prepared for united, powerful, sustained battles which alone could repulse the combined attacks of the employer class and the government. He then recounted the repeated attempts of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) for unity amongst the left trade unions for developing a powerful and effective struggle but how every time the move for unity was frustrated by CITU leadership and thus objectively helping the exploiters. He deplored that even the sincere and repeated attempts of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) for a common programme for 15th May could not succeed due to sectarianism and disruptive move of CITU. He urged upon the working people in the state to realise the danger of sectarianism and disruption of CITU at this hour and called for support behind UTUC (Lenin Sarani)'s efforts to build up a united, sustained movement which was the urgent need of the hour.

After the meeting, braving heavy downpour and stormy weather, a big, disciplined procession of more than five thousand working people proceeded towards Rajbhavan. After squatting for an hour, a delegation composed of

Comrades Fatik Ghosh, Sitesh Dasgupta, Sanat Dutta, Amar Roy and others presented the memorandum to the Governor.

It is however, pertinent to note that CITU which had so much of its energies to oppose a united programme on the day, took the programme in a very casual manner. They did not show minimum seriousness and could muster hardly two hundred people for a procession in a routine, purfunctory manner. This points out unmistakably the real motive of CITU in bringing split in the unity of left trade unions and frustrating by every conceivable means, an effective

united and sustained movement in the state when it is the need of the hour.

Delhi

At the call of National Campaign Committee, the All India Protest Day against wage-cut, victimisation and emergency was observed on 15th May. On the day, at Delhi, left central trade unions including UTUC (Lenin Sarani) unitedly took out a procession and staged Dharna before the residence of the finance Minister. After that, a 7-men delegation including Com. Dilip Mukherjee (UTUC-Lenin Sarani) met the Finance Minister to hand over a memorandum.

Kerala SUCI Leaders Meet J.P.

On 12th May, '75 at 9.30 A.M. Com. J. James, Secy. Kerala State organising Committee of the SUCI along with Com. V. Natarajan and K. Surendra Babu two other members of the State Organising Committee met Sri Jayaprakash Narayan, at Thycand Rest House, Trivandrum and discussed with him on the latest development of Kerala situation. The SUCI leaders told Shri Narayan that the economic and political situation of the state during these years have deteriorated greatly and at present is worse than most of the states in India and the grievances of the people have surpassed the limit of tolerance. But due to the petty sectarian and parliamentary politics of the big left parties, who are engaged only in parliamentary games, the grievances of the people could not be given a shape of organised, sustained movement.

The SUCI leaders placed to Shri Narayan a suggestion for the formation of people's, Youths' and students' struggle Committees on a minimum agreed programme from the village to the state level.

Shri Narayan, with much eagerness listened to the suggestions and assured to first place a charter of demands to the Government and take other steps gradually but expressed doubts if the peoples' and Students'

Youths' Committees could be formed as most of the parties have become busy with election preparation which is supposed to be held in September.

On the same day, at 10-30 A.M. Kerala DSO leaders Coms. T. Vijaya Kumar, Mahesh Babu, Subramony and Venugopal along with student leaders of the other students' organisations met Sri Narayan.

On the previous day 15th May '75 hundreds of SUCI and DSO workers gave a warm reception to Mr. J.P. Narayan with party flags and festoons at Trivandrum air-port.

ARRESTS IN BIHAR

For quite some time, because of participation in the peoples' movement of Bihar leading organisers as well as workers and supporters of SUCI are being widely arrested in several districts of Bihar.

Recently all the Comrades of the Mazaffarpur District Committee had been arrested. Secretary of the Mazaffarpur District Committee Comrade Shib Shankar and Comrade Samsool Huda, a leading organiser of the District Committee were arrested under MISA. The court even refused the bail petitions of Comrades Kaleswar Rasoolpuri, member of the Mazaffarpur District Committee and Kedar Thakur and Umesh Prasad, party workers.

(Contd. from Page 8)

the cadet party.... Naturally the party at that time directed its main blow at the cadets, for unless the cadets were isolated—there could be no hope of the revolution achieving victory. Many people at that time did not understand this peculiar feature of Bolshevik strategy and accused the Bolsheviks of excessive 'Cadetophobia'; they asserted that with the Bolsheviks the struggle against the cadets 'overshadowed' the struggle against the principal enemy—tsarism. But these accusations, for which there was no ground what ever, revealed an utter failure to understand the Bolshevik strategy, which called for isolation of the compromising party in order to facilitate, to hasten the victory over the principal enemy."

Next Com. Stalin showed while discussing the strategy of the Bolshevik party after the February revolution. "In this period the petty bourgeois democratic parties, the socialist revolutionary party and the Menshevik Party were the most dangerous social support of imperialism. Naturally, the Bolsheviks at that time directed their main blows at these parties, for unless these parties were isolated there could be no hope of the Soviet Revolution achieving victory. Many people at that time did not understand this peculiar feature of the Bolshevik tactics and accused the Bolsheviks of displaying 'excessive hatred' towards the Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks and of 'forgetting' the principal goal. But the entire period of preparation for October eloquently testifies to the fact that only by pursuing these tactics could the Bolsheviks ensure the victory of the October Revolution." Here, Com. Stalin pointedly shows that the principle of the 'direction of the main blow' is an essential part of the strategy of revolution. But Mr. Jyoti Basu, a responsible Polit-Bureau member of the CPI(M) has labelled a

Main blow is to be Directed Against the Pseudo-Marxists and Social Democratic Forces

similar charge against us centering round our political criticism against them. He said that the SUCI considers the Congress as the main enemy and the CPI(M) as the main danger that is, direction of the main blow according to the strategy of revolution. I say it is but natural. Because we, according to Marxist-Leninist concept, consider the CPI(M) as a social democratic party, a compromising force in between labour and capital. Is it very difficult for Mr. Basu to understand that if we considered them as genuine Marxist-Leninists then we would have been in their party? Similarly, they, too, probably consider themselves to be the Marxist-Leninists. So according to them also, however much we may talk of Marxism-Leninism, we are nothing but a social democratic party. Under the circumstances we, according to them are that compromising force in the revolutionary struggle between the ruling class and the exploited masses while according to us, they are the compromising force in the united movement between the bourgeoisie and the working class. So naturally, in united movements, struggle between these two lines must continue, otherwise how the correct revolutionary line and leadership will be established over the mass movements?

Com. Stalin said in the form of a thesis: "It is impossible to put an end to capitalism without putting an end to social democracy in the labour movement". If this be the strategy of revolution then in a revolution which aims at overthrowing capitalism and capitalist state machine the instability of which class has to be paralysed in the united movement? In that case against whom the main blow shall be directed? Stalin said that in the anti-capitalist revolution this main blow should be directed against the various social democratic trends—

which speak of revolution, organise, at times, even militant movements but never allow these movements to go beyond the orbit of economism and reformism and usurp the credit of the movement and sacrifices of the people for electionery gains. If Mr. Jyoti Basu could correctly understand the meaning of this 'direction of the main blow' of the strategy of revolution then he would not have this grievance or annoyance against us centering round our criticism against the CPI(M).

Mr. Jyoti Basu has placed the thing in such a way as if to point out the 'direction of the main blow', that is, the main danger in the united mass movement categorically is to confuse it with the main enemy. But this can be said by only those people who want either to hide the main things of the strategy of revolution from the people, or they themselves are ignorant about it. Which one is true in their case?

But Mr. Jyoti Basu, a responsible Polit Bureau member of the CPI(M) in his article has labelled a similar charge against us for our political criticism against the CPI(M) whom we consider to be a social democratic party. They are trying to create such an air that one should not be allowed to criticise when moving unitedly. I ask, why? Is it written in the Vedas? How this idea that they are nourishing—such an idea came in the society? Have you ever cared to search where from these ideas came? If you search you will see that these ideas are emanating from bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and social democratic politics. It sounds nice but there is nothing more harmful than this, because in reality it is nothing but a conspiracy to destroy the healthy trend of criticism and counter-criticism within the united struggle. It is only the bourgeois, petty bourgeois and social democratic forces who fear ideological

discussions and criticism particularly in the period of severe class struggle. It is out of the impact of the social democratic politics that this mental make up of theirs has developed. If not, then they ought to know that among the three parts of the strategy of revolution a very important part is 'direction of the main blow'.

Com. Ghosh said, it is only those parties who refuse to lead the day to day struggles of the masses to their political goal and tries to keep them arrested within the limits and bounds of economism and reformism, want to deliberately obstruct ideological political struggle in the united movement—these parties only brand political criticism as slander and themselves, instead of political criticism, resort to blatant lie and slander and try to make them believable. But what is a slander? We asked the CPI(M) friends, let us sit together to determine and define what is political criticism and what is a hostile criticism and a slander.

If we all can come to a unanimity on this question and after that if we do not abide by it then and then only you may bring such charges against us. But it is you people who refused to do that and said that such a thing is not possible.

If criticism of the wrong politics of a party lands them in difficulty and if, at that, they raise a hullabaloo and say that these are slanders and these shall not be permitted to continue—will that then be acceptable? What would you say—can this ever be accepted? Never, otherwise how can the united movement be freed from the influence of the wrong politics?

You have not formulated any code of conduct upto now. We know the language that you use against us in public as well as in private. In all your journals—official and unofficial—the language and words you use and the

expressions you give against us in the name of criticism—people are acquainted with those too. But we never expressed any grudge on that. We said that if you can advance your politics through all these and if you like, do it and do it all the more. Only please do not encroach upon our right. We must have the right to political criticism from our own platform. You have much more powerful propaganda machinery than we have, you may carry on propaganda against us in any way you like. But to deny the struggle between two lines even in the name of unity will mean nothing worse than arresting the mass movements within the orbit of economism and reformism and thus betraying revolution. By this, the purpose of your so-called revolutionary political line may be served but no real revolutionary party can allow this nor can accept it. Only the social democratic parties, only the compromising forces between labour and capital can demand this. Even if one simply judges from this outlook and the attitude of this party—the attitude of gagging healthy criticism on this plea or that it will be very clearly revealed that despite their tall revolutionary utterances they are nothing but social democratic forces. They do not want that mass movements on various issues should reach their revolutionary goal, they pay only lip service to revolution. Had they really wanted revolution they would also have fought with us for the right to political criticism in the united movement.

Com. Ghosh said when the unity of the two powerful parties like the SUCI and the CPI(M) was so vital for giving shape to a united mass movement in West Bengal, at that very moment the CPI(M) on a typical social democratic pretext which has got no relation with the revolutionary politics, has disrupted that unity and made an understanding with the most discredited and thoroughly isolated reactionary force like

(Contd. to Page 11)

Come forward and defeat the election-oriented social democratic politics

(Contd. from Page 10)

Mr. P. C. Sen & Co. What does this politics of the CPI(M) indicate?

Be that as it may our call is—please build up a United Front of the left and democratic parties and forces on a common agreed programme and a code of conduct, and don't remain a supporter of such a issue-based opportunistic combination, dished out as unity of the left. Just before the '72 poll the Seven party combination came into being, when Forward Bloc joined, it became eight party combination and lastly with the SP it became Nine Party combination. And all through this period, it is known to all who are conversant with our line of approach, we have been persistently insisting on transforming this issue-based combination of the left and democratic parties into a united front of the left and democratic parties on the basis of a common agreed programme and a code of conduct. But it was mainly the CPI(M)'s stand of "issue-based combination" that stood in the way. But despite our attempt, as it always remained as an issue-based front, it provided plea and opportunity for the CPI(M), RSP and SP to move according to their petty sectarian interest as and when their sectarian necessity demanded it.

Look at the CPI(M). Under the advice of the Soviet revisionists, the CPI(M) adopted a line of coming closer to the CPI and for that purpose they invented a 'convergent theory', with a view to escaping from the anger that may arise within the rank and file for pro-Dangeite move. And in support of that theory the CPI(M) suddenly discovered a shift in the CPI politics that brought the CPI closer to and in alliance with the Congress—they discovered that the CPI is again coming back closer to peoples' movement. (Ref: Central Committee resolution of the CPI(M),—adopted in the session held

from 15th to 20th July, '73). This they had to discover as because according to the instruction of the Soviet revisionists they had to come closer to the CPI under the cover of a "convergent theory". And for this petty sectarian interest the CPI(M), did not even care for the unity of the left parties and went to the side of the CPI and supported the strike call on 27th July, '73 given by the CPI and the INTUC with the sole design to disrupt the programme of struggle adopted by the Eight Party combination.

Then look at the RSP. The nine left parties decided not to participate in the Assembly constituted by the rigged election of '72. But the RSP, paying scant regard to the united decision, joined the Assembly for their petty sectarian interest. They could do this because the then left unity was not a united front on a common agreed programme and a code of conduct but a issue-based combination.

And look at the S.P. They are a constituent of the "Nabanirman" but at the same time they are member of the Nine Party combination also.

But these parties could behave in such an opportunistic way only because it remained all through an issue-based combination. Had it been a united front on a common agreed programme and a code of conduct, then the RSP could not behave this way, the SP could not behave this way and the CPI(M) could neither go to the side of the CPI and the INTUC nor could hold a conference with the Nabanirman, by disrupting both the time the unity of the left parties.

Therefore, I like to impress upon you that as struggle between the revolutionary line and the social democratic lines of the other parties inevitably breaks out, there is nothing to be perturbed about it, nor there is any reason for getting annoyed for this. It is quite natural

and necessary, too, to lead the united mass struggle launched on various economic and democratic demands to their logical political goal. If these parties are really serious about united mass struggle then let all of them come forward to give shape to a united front of the left and democratic parties on a common agreed programme and a code of conduct and let them all take serious steps to form peoples' committees to provide the people with an instrument of struggle. And if these are done then only it will be revealed who are not abiding by the code of conduct and who are disrupting unity.

Lastly, it is my appeal to the people please come forward and fight for this. The SUCI wants unity and united mass movement. We want unity with all the left and democratic parties. But we cannot sacrifice our principle, we cannot forego the struggle between two lines. In the very interest of saving the mass struggles from economism and reformism and ultimately leading them to revolutionary goal we are to carry on this inevitable and indispensable struggle. And if necessary, if these parties do not come forward, the SUCI alone will try to build up movement in West Bengal, and in that case, we shall ask for your active participation and effective help—for your whole hearted support. To build up movement in West Bengal, the citadel of left movement, it is not at all necessary to join hands with the 'Nabanirman'. I like to give a caution and warning to all, that if for petty sectarian electionary politics the left parties in the name of movement hold joint meetings and demonstrations on some specific issues—with these reactionaries, then that will only give the reactionaries a credibility and a scope to infiltrate in the left politics of West-Bengal which they did not get even during the

COM. NIHAR MUKHERJEE'S STATEMENT ON THE PROPOSED BANDH ON 20th JUNE

Commenting on the change of date of Bangla Bandh by CPI(M) and its other associate leftist parties and Trade Unions, from 18th to 20th June, Shri Nihar Mukherjee, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee, SUCI has said that, "It is known to all that SUCI has been trying for a well organised, extensive and sustained mass movement in the State of West Bengal. The All Bengal Youth Conference at the initiative of DYU—the youth front of our Party, scheduled to be held on and from 20th to 22nd June in Saheed Netaji Nagar, Suri, Birbhum is one of the vital preparatory programme towards that end.

Com. Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and the eminent Marxist thinker of the era would be the main speaker and Com. Pratiba Mukherjee would be the president of the Conference.

The programme was long announced,—more than a month back, not merely through the press but through extensive wall-writings, posterings, propaganda squads, etc. Later Shri Jayaprakash Narayan eagerly accepted our invitation to be present and address at the open and delegate session of the Conference on 20th and 21st June, as Guest-in-Chief. This news also came in the press as far back as on 20th May.

CPI(M) and other Parties in their joint statement of 24th May did not even feel the qualms to make slanting remarks on

weakest period of left movement. Therefore, if this politics of hob-nob with Mr. P. C. Sen and Co. cannot be totally defeated, the left movement of West Bengal will commit suicide. So my appeal to you all—please come forward to defeat this dangerous and most harmful out and out election oriented social democratic politics.

—Long live revolution.

the presence of J.P. as Chief Guest in our Youth Conference. So, these parties can not take the plea of ignorance about the date of this All Bengal Youth Conference; rather they thought it fit to change the date of Bandh from 18th to the very date of inaugural open session and rally of our Youth Conference i.e., the 20th of June.

From this, the motive behind this change of date is also crystal clear. Their so-called public stance against the Congress Government can not be able to confuse the people about their real motive behind this change of date which can be nothing other than a mean trick of creating obstruction and inconvenience to thousands of delegates who will be coming from all the districts of the State, and to innumerable people and even to Shri Jayaprakash Narayan on his way to attend the Conference.

This vile trick bears striking similarity to the attempt of the Chhatra Parishad and Youth Congress of the ruling party of creating obstruction to Jayaprakash Narayan's attending to week-long programme in the State of West Bengal by giving a call of bandh on 5th June and subsequently to 7th June, although they had to retrace their steps, faced with strong public resentment and called off their 'farce of a bandh'.

It will therefore be clear to any right thinking man that had the CPI(M) and other left parties been really guided by the desire to develop a mass movement in this state against the anti-people policies of the Congress Government, they would not have given the call of a bandh on the already publicised date of the 'All Bengal Youth Conference' which is one of the vital preparatory programmes to develop a sustained mass movement against the

(Contd. to Page 12)

Vietnam Victory March

Calcutta, 1st May :

The historic day of 30th April witnessed a great victory march in Calcutta organised under the auspices of the Calcutta District Committee of the SUCI to celebrate the long cherished liberation of South Vietnam. Similar rallies and demonstrations, big and small, celebrating the victory were held all over the state and in different parts of the country under the banner of SUCI.

At the very news of surrender of the puppet Saigon Government to the National Liberation Front thousands of youths, students, workers and intellectuals thronged at Raja Subodh Mallick Square at the call of Calcutta District Committee of the SUCI to celebrate the day. There a meeting was held and a resolution extending hearty revolutionary greetings to the Vietnamese people, fraternal solidarity to them and expressing deepest satisfaction at their glorious victory was unanimously adopted. The resolution firmly opined that "this victory of the people of South Vietnam shattered once again the myth of US military might and proved once again beyond doubt that whenever the people struggle under revolutionary leadership with a correct base political line armed with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism becomes invincible and no power on earth however powerful and deadly it might be can keep them under subjugation for long".

The meeting was also of considered opinion that "this unprecedent glorious and significant victory of the undaunted heroic South Vietnamese fighters have unchained another link of the world imperialist chain and have inflicted a severe blow on the US imperialists, the gang-leader of world imperialism. And thus this victory has hastened

the process of complete abolition of colonialism. This victory will inspire and imbibe the people in different countries struggling for emancipation from imperialist-capitalist exploitation. The liberation of Vietnam will add new strength and confidence to struggling people world-over". Com. Asutosh Banerjee Secretary, Calcutta District Committee of our party tabled the resolution and gave a short speech highlighting the implication of this great victory of Vietnamese people over the mightiest imperialist force of the world.

After the brief meeting a ten thousand strong procession proceeded through Lenin Sarani towards the USIS office on Chowringhee Road. The jubilant demonstration decorated with red flags and NLF flags and with a large portrait of Comrade Ho-chi-Minh at the front attracted curious attention of people in streets and houses. Their hearty appreciation came through passing comments like,

'Thanks to SUCI the glorious day is being observed', 'They have kept the leftist heritage of Calcutta' etc. Students and youths spontaneously participated in the procession being attracted with its jubilation, fervour, discipline and greatness—for there was no such demonstration at all in the streets of the city on that historic day. In tune with the thousands of marches they shouted slogans like 'Red salute to the valiant fighters of Vietnam', 'Victory in Vietnam is the Victory of Marxism-Leninism—Victory of correct political line,' 'Red salute to Comrade Ho chi-Minh', 'Long live Com. Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of Indian toiling masses', 'Long live SUCI', 'Down with US imperialism', 'Down with revisionism' etc. Thus the victory march paraded through S.N. Banerjee Rd, Nirmal Ch. Street, Mahatma Gandhi Rd,

Sealdah, Jagadish Ch. Bose Rd. and then again through Lenin Sarani ended at Subodh Mullick Square after three long hours.

ASSAM

Gauhati, May 2 :

In support of the heroic success and achievement of emancipation of the toiling masses of Vietnam through a sustained heroic battle against the strongest enemy of the working class of the world, the U.S. imperialism, a well decorated procession of the Assam State Committee of the SUCI paraded the main streets of the Gauhati city today the 2nd May, 1975. Hundreds of workers of the SUCI, supporters & sympathisers joined the procession and extended their revolutionary greetings towards the heroic people of Vietnam. Afterwards the procession reached before the American Book corner, shouted slogans against the U.S. imperialism and held public meeting on the street where Sri Prabhat Khataniar, Saradindu Biswas and Kantimoy Deb expressed deepest satisfaction for the glorious victory of the people of Vietnam over U.S. imperialist and their puppets and conveyed revolutionary greetings to the heroic people of Vietnam on behalf of the Assam State Committee of the SUCI and said that the victory of the people of Vietnam has once again shattered the myth of U.S. military might and proved that the people when led by a correct revolutionary leadership armed with the teachings of Marxism Leninism with a correct base political line is invincible and no force on earth can keep them under subjugation for a long time. So the meeting urged upon the toiling people of India in general and Assam in particular to come forward in millions to strengthen the only revolutionary party of the country, the SUCI to

accelerate the process of the socialist revolution, the only means of emancipation from all sorts of exploitations of the Indian capitalist class.

Com. Mukherjee's Statement

(Contd. from Page 11)

same Congress Government, by a leftist Party SUCI.

We would still hope that the CPI(M) and other fraternal left parties would give up their dangerous divisive politics which can only widen the rift they have already brought in the unity of the left parties, to the delight of the ruling Congress, and would change the date of their declared Bangla Bandh of 20th June."

To Our Readers

In order to cover the speech of Com. General Secretary delivered on the 27th Anniversary of our Party—the publication had to be delayed.

We apologise for the delay.

Moreover, the price of this issue is raised to meet the extra expenses caused by the increase of pages.

KERALA

Big Public Rallies

Tremendous enthusiasm was created among the people who in huge numbers attended the mass meetings that were held at different places in the state to highlight on the present political situation.

The meeting that was held at Quilon on 10th April was organised by Quilon Town Committee of the SUCI. Com. V. Natarajan, Secretary Quilon District organising Committee of the SUCI presided over the meeting and Com. Krishna Chakraborty was the main speaker.

Com. J. James, Secretary Kerala state organising Committee of the SUCI also addressed the gathering as one of the speakers.

The meeting that was organised by the Kundru local unit of the SUCI at Kundru on 11th April was presided over by Comrade Babu Dilkhus. In that meeting too Com. Krishna Chakraborty was the main speaker and Com. J. James was present as one of the speakers.

While discussing on the present political situations all the speakers strongly criticised the nasty parliamentary game practised by the CPI(M) for winning a few seats in the coming election and urged upon them to give up their petty sectarian politics and come forward to form a united front of the left and democratic parties for organising sustained mass movement in the state.

All Bengal Students' Conference

Organised by All India DSO

26th and 27th July

CALCUTTA

Main Speaker : Com. SHIBDAS GHOSH

Chief Guest : Sri JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN